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R E A S O N S

FOR AN

A M E N D M E N T

OF THE

STATUTE OF 28 HENRY VIII. C. II. § 3.

WHICH GIVES

To the Successor in Ecclesiastical Benefices all
the Profits from the Day of the Vacancy :

I N A

L E T T E R TO A F R I E N D ,

FROM A *Rusticus. R*

C O U N T R Y C L E R G Y M A N .

Veri juris, germanique sollemn et expressam effigiem
nullam tenemus; sed et imaginibus utimur.

Cic. de Off.

Provided, that this present Ordinance shall endure until the
next Parliament, and so forth; except in the said Parliament
a reasonable Cause be alledged, shewed, and proved, for the
which it shall seem not expedient that the aforesaid Ordinance
shall so endure.

Stat. 27 Hen. VI. c. 5.

L O N D O N :

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M DCC LXX.

Price One Shilling J





R E A S O N S
FOR AN
AMENDMENT, &c.

Dear S I R,

A Conversation, which passed at the funeral of the late worthy Rector of —, affected me very sensibly at that time; and, as often as the subject has recurred to my thoughts, it has not failed to excite the same painful emotions. The occasion of our meeting naturally led us to consider the melancholy state of the families of the clergy,

when deprived of their principal support, and particularly of the widow and children of our deceased friend. Their distresses indeed were much heightened by these circumstances; that the husband and parent, whom they had lost, was removed from them at the eve of harvest, and that he had been obliged to sink a considerable part of his private fortune in building a house upon a living, which he had not long enjoyed.

You, arguing upon equitable principles, and biased by a benevolent disposition, warmly declared it to be your opinion, that the representatives of a man, who had discharged the duty of the parish ten months out of twelve, had a strict right to a due proportion of the annual revenue; and that an allowance ought also to be made to them, for money expended in improving the preferment. To convince you of your mistake, I referred you to an old partial act of parliament still in force, and too frequently in use, which gives to the successor all profits from the day of avoidance of the living. I added further, that you seemed to have forgot you had crossed the Irish seas: for though, in your country, two thirds of the charge of building and rebuilding parsonage houses, reverts to the family of him who incurred the first expence, yet that just and politic law was never introduced into this kingdom.

The result of our conversation was, that if the laws at present bore so hard on the relations of clergymen, it was reasonable an alteration should
be

be made in their favor; and you was disposed to believe, that a true state of their grievance might have this desired effect. Diffident of my own abilities, I declined the task assigned me by yourself and several other friends of drawing it up, and expressed my hearty wishes that you would engage the pen of some person better qualified to do justice to the subject. We all agreed we knew, by name, one Gentleman of our profession; who, by many judicious remarks dispersed through his valuable digest of our ecclesiastical law, had given undeniable proofs how well instructed he was to furnish and enforce proper arguments for an amendment of any part of it. None of us, however, having even a personal acquaintance with him, we thought it would shew great forwardness to trouble him with an application. As the rest of the company could not be prevailed upon to accept the employment, and were, in this instance, at a loss for a willing advocate in behalf of the distressed relicts of our brethren: lest a representation of their case should not be made, I at length consented to your earnest requests, and now submit to public view the following reasons for an alteration of a Statute which we judged so great a grievance.

But, before I examine this Act, viz. 28 Hen. VIII. c. 11. § 3. an inquiry into the antient practice of settling the proportion of profits due to new incumbents and the representatives of predecessors, cannot be deemed an idle curiosity. Not that I would be understood to intimate that the old custom ought to be revived. The reason,

however, on which that was founded, may certainly, if a just one, be urged for the alteration proposed.

It was then, Sir, a constant usage of this church, when settled does not appear, that if the minister of a parish lived till Lady-day, or a few weeks after, he had a right of disposing by will of the fruits of the next harvest. This custom, having been fixed to Lady-day, and confirmed by Edmund (1) of Abington, Archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1236, was received as an established law. The statutes of many cathedral and collegiate churches were still more favorable to their respective members, than this constitution was to the parochial clergy. For the former were generally allowed a power of bequeathing a whole year's income of their preferment from the day of their death (2).

The gloss of Lyndwood upon the Constitution of Edmund of Abington deserves our notice. "The feast of the annunciation, says this eminent Civilian (3), was partly fixed for the sake of the

(1) *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae*, &c. by Wilkins, v. I. p. 638.

(2) *Constit. Thurstan. Eboracen. Archiep.* A. D. 1134. Wilkins *Concil.* v. I. p. 412.—*Charta Lincoln. Eccles.* A. D. 1212. *Id.* v. I. p. 538.—*Bulla Honorii III. Papæ Decano et Capit. Lichfeldensi*, A. D. 1222. *Id.* v. I. p. 597.

(3) *Lyndwood de Consuetudine*, Lib. I. Tit. 3. *Nullus Rector, &c. Tempus annunciationis apponitur-gratia Rectoris incumbens officio, qui forsan totâ hyeme deservivit ecclesiæ, et nulla vel pauca emolumenta, cum nulla vel modica interim provenerint, de ipsa ecclesia perceperit, nec percipere potuit: et qui, nisi esset ista consuetudo, alias ad debita sua persolvenda, &c.*

“ the incumbent; who, having discharged the
 “ duty all the winter, when little or no profit ac-
 “ crues from the preferment, must otherwise re-
 “ ceive a very small recompence: the consequence
 “ whereof would be an inability to pay his debts.”

But, justifiable as this reason must appear to every impartial person, it did not escape a severe stricture from Dr Humphry Prideaux, formerly Dean of Norwich, in a Tract (4) published by him to discourage an intended application to parliament for altering the present method of division. As this reverend and learned Gentleman was much respected for his knowledge of the ecclesiastical laws of this country, his pamphlet had probably too much weight at that time: though, I must own, upon a careful and frequent perusal of it, his arguments do not appear to me to be decisive; and I am suspicious, that a deference was rather shewn to his station and character, than the force of his reasoning. In the passages here referred to, he is chargeable with drawing an unfair conclusion; and with a misrepresentation, and no very liberal insinuation that the debts of the clergy must be contracted by a vicious extravagance.

“ I find, says he, for the first introducing of
 “ that custom of allowing the predecessor of an
 “ ecclesiastical living the next harvest after his de-
 “ cease, such an odd reason given, as the mis-
 “ carriages of those who were to have the benefit
 “ of it (5); viz. that it did often happen that
 “ Rectors

A 4

(4) See Ecclesiastical Tracts by Humphry Prideaux, D. D. Dean of Norwich, p. 236, 237.

(5) Synodus Exoniensis Dioc. a Petro Quivil, A. D. 1287. Wilkins Concil. vol. II. p. 157.

“ Rectors did lead such dissolute lives, that when
 “ they came to die, they did leave those debts be-
 “ hind them as would never be paid, unless the
 “ next harvest after their decease were allowed
 “ them for this purpose; and then observes, this
 “ is the first instance I have ever met with, where
 “ the faults of men have been alledged for the rea-
 “ son of a law granted in their favor.”

Now, with submission, even this constitution could not be said to have been enacted for the benefit of those, who had dissolutely squandered their substance: for it was not to take place till after their decease; when it could not be material to them who received the future profits of their preferments. The faultless and injured creditors were the objects of it: and therefore a custom, which secured to them their just claim, is with propriety commended (1).

Had the Dean consulted the determinaton of a synod of his own diocese of Norwich, held in the year 1255, he would have found that Bishop Walter de Suthfeld, and his clergy, had a more favorable opinion of this practice. For, after having mentioned it to have commenced, probably, at the time of the foundation of that church, the breach of it, in not suffering the will of the deceased to be fulfilled, is declared to be very unjust; and excommunication is threatned by them to the violators of so valuable a privilege (2). It was, besides, no proof

(1) *Laudabilem consuetudinem approbantes.*

(2) *Synodus Norwicensis, A. D. 1255. Wilkins Concil. vol. I. p. 708, 709.* A constitution, similar to this of Walter de Suthfeld, was confirmed by Cardinal Wolsey for the clergy of the province of York, A. D. 1518. *Id. vol. III. p. 663.*

proof of the Dean's impartiality to select the constitution of Peter de Quivil, and to omit others of a prior date, which assign more candid reasons for introducing a custom still more advantageous to the representatives of clergymen. By the constitution of Thurstan, Archbishop of York (3), which allows the prebendaries of all the collegiate churches in that diocese to dispose of a year's profits of their preferments after their death; it is asserted to be an act of charity and humanity to provide for the discharge of the debts of the clergy, who, like other men, too frequently contract them from necessity, or the frailty of their nature. The members of the church of Lincoln have enjoyed for upwards of five hundred years the benefit of this rule, whether they happened to be encumbered with debts or not. And a Bull of Pope Honorius III. confirmed an old law of the same kind to the Dean and Chapter of Litchfield, and anathematized the infringers of this liberty. Nor was the practice peculiar to this country. We find it used in some parts of Ireland. In a synod of the diocese of Ferns, held in 1240, this rule was, by the unanimous consent of the clergy, to be inviolably observed (4). This constitution mentions the same custom to have prevailed in the diocese of Dublin; and it was likewise confirmed by a council of the province of Cashell held at Limeric in 1453 (5).

I am,

(3) See the page in Wilkins Concil. referred to in note (2).

(4) Synodus celebr. per Episc. Fernensem, Wilkins Concil. vol. I. p. 681. in which is the following passage, too applicable to the parochial clergy of this kingdom. *Quod plerumque contingit quod rectores & vicarii, &c.—Per exilitatem beneficiorum & onera, in tanta paupertate decedant, ut nihil relinquant, unde debita sua creditoribus solvantur.*

(5) Wilkins Concil. vol. III. p. 569.

I am, from these instances, able to correct a mistake of Dr Prideaux, who says that this custom was peculiar to this kingdom, and practised in it contrary to the usage of all other churches (1). The closet of a country clergyman does not afford him an opportunity of consulting the ecclesiastical laws and customs of every other nation: but the foregoing references are sufficient to subvert his general assertion, and to shew that the practice was not absolutely confined to this country. That it was contrary to the canon law shall be admitted; and I will give you a reason why it was on that account repeatedly enforced. The secular clergy, as well as the laity, of England, were ever averse to a system of laws, which were diametrically opposite to the mild and free spirit of our constitution, and strenuously withstood the introduction of many of them. In the point now under our inquiry, the former had a particular motive for guarding against an innovation. By the canon law, not only the subsequent profits, but what an incumbent had saved from the fruits of his benefice, were to revert to the church. This was a severe rule, though it will admit of some extenuation, as ecclesiastics were not then supposed to have wives and children. To the clergy, however, of this kingdom, who did not for many years after the conquest, if ever, submit to the Pope's arbitrary and unnatural injunctions of celibacy, this article of the canon law was an intolerable grievance (2). They, therefore, re-
solutely

(1) Dr Prideaux Eccl. Tracts, p. 222.

(2) In the body of canons which K. Charles I. indiscreetly and arbitrarily attempted to impose upon the church of Scotland, after they had been perused and altered by Archbishop Laud,

folutely maintained their own more defirable custom till the reign of Henry VIII. when it was fuperfeded by the Act of which we complain.

The professed design of this Bill, as appears from the preamble, was to fuppreff a practice, too common among the Bifhops of that age, of deferring collation or institution to benefices, becaufe they were intitled to the profits during the vacancy; and to enable the fucceffor to defray the heavy charge of firft-fruits. It will be fufficient to have barely mentioned the firft reason; for the evil, againft which it was intended to guard, might as well have been prevented by a divifion of the profits between the heirs of the predeceffor and the new incumbent, as by giving them all to the latter. However, I cannot omit this opportunity of publicly declaring my sentiments, that there is no danger of our prefent ecclefiaftical governors attempting to revive their claim; being perfuaded that they are defirous of increafing, inftead of diminiſhing, the income of the parochial clergy. But the allowance made to the fucceffor towards the payment of his firft-fruits deferves your attention. And that you may form an exact judgment of the fubject, it will be requiſite to point out to you the true reaſons which occaſioned this extraordinary indulgence to him.

When

Laud, was one, to *oblige* all Bifhops and Ecclefiaftics, who died without children, to leave a good part of their eftates to the church; and though they ſhould have children, to leave fomewhat to the church and to the advancement of learning. The Earl of Clarendon obſerves, that this injunction was diſliked, becaufe it ſeemed to reflect upon the intereſts of thoſe who had, or might have, a right to inherit from clergymen.

Hiſt. of Rebel. vol. I. p. 106.

When the See of Rome obstinately persisted in a refusal to comply with Henry's request of dissolving his marriage with Queen Catharine of Arragon; he, in hopes of influencing or intimidating that rapacious and imperious court, procured an Act of parliament, which empowered him to suspend and restrain, or abolish, the payment of first-fruits to the Pope. This Bill began in the convocation; nor can we be surprized at the earnest desire of the clergy to be freed from an exaction, to which they were subject on coming into their preferments. They were disappointed in their expectations, and soon found that his Majesty's intention was not to abolish the payment of first-fruits, but to draw them into a different channel. In July 1533, the Act received a final confirmation from the King; and in the beginning of the following year first-fruits were annexed to the crown (1).

Our brethren suffered from this change. Burdensome as the Roman Pontif's claim had been, it principally affected clerks collated to benefices by provision from those paramount Lords; and these benefices were generally the most lucrative (2). Whereas the Act, which gave first-fruits to the King, comprized all ecclesiastical preferments. Besides, though the papal imposition was unreasonable, it fell very short of the sum which was now to be levied. The money heretofore paid was according to a valuation made in the reign of Edward

(1) Bishop Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. I. p. 113. and Strype's Ecclesiast. Memorials, vol. I. p. 144.

(2) Godolphin Repertorium Canonicum, p. 337, and Appendix to Strype's Life of Archbp Whitgift, N^o xxvi. p. 100.

Edward I. (3); but, in consequence of this Act, there was a new survey; and every possible method was taken to discover the extended value of each benefice. It appears from Brydges's History of Northamptonshire, that there were very few livings in that county, but what were raised to twice, several set at three times, the former value, and some few charged very heavily, that had been omitted in the old survey. If we consider that those, who were employed to execute this commission, were extremely solicitous to ingratiate themselves with the King and his ministers, we may easily account for some of the preferments being overcharged. Mr Strype, in his Ecclesiastical Memorials (4), has published a Letter from Bishop Gardiner of Winchester to Secretary Cromwell, which evidently shews how ready he and his colleagues were to go beyond his Majesty's instructions (5); since they challenge a share of merit in not granting to their poor brethren all the allowances which they might claim by the law. Queen Elizabeth's first parliament most politely assured their Sovereign, that "the prelates and clergy" paid the first-fruits to her Father for twenty "years without grief or contradiction (6):" the truth of one expression in this high-flown compliment must be denied (7); the other word is not so questionable: as many clergymen, however enormous

(3) Kennet's Parochial Antiquities, p. 316.

(4) Vol. I. p. 212, 213.

(5) The King's instructions to the commissioners on this survey may be read in Wilkins's Concil. vol. III. p. 799, &c.

(6) Stat. 1 Eliz. c. 4. § 16.

(7) Archbishop Whitgift complained that poor ministers often be too much overcharged in their valuations. Appendix to Strype's Life of that Prelate, N° xxvi. p. 101.

mous the assessment was, might prudently acquiesce, foreseeing a litigation would be both expensive and fruitless. But where an incumbent was only rated according to his real income, he must have found it very difficult to make good his payments for first-fruits within a reasonable time. And to enable him to be more expeditious, he was entitled by the Stat. of Hen. VIII. c. 11. to all the profits of the living from the day of the avoidance. If I therefore assert, that the King's emolument was first considered in this clause, and then the interest of the clergy, you will not, I am satisfied, accuse me of drawing a forced conclusion.

From the preceeding account you see, Sir, the grounds of this favorable allowance to every new incumbent: and the question is, whether, as in many cases the reason in part only remains, and in a greater number does not at all subsist, the indulgence ought not to be discontinued. It is a circumstance well known, and a happy one it is for the clergy, that the first-fruits of most parochial livings are much less in proportion to the real profits, than they were some years ago. In 1703, when Dr Prideaux first published his Tract, he admitted them to be a 6th or a 7th part (1): Bishop Burnet, about the same time, set most at a 5th, and some at a 10th part (2); and I believe, at present, if valued at a 10th, the calculation will generally hold good. This is meant of preferments which are still subject to the payment of this tax, for by the 1st of Eliz. c. 4. and the 5th

(1) Ecclesiastical Tracts, p. 245, 308.

(2) History of his own Times, vol. II. p. 369.

5th of Ann c. 24, the much greater number of livings in England are discharged (3).

But the benefit of the Act of Henry VIII. is not confined to rectories and vicarages, it extends to all ecclesiastical preferments, bishopricks excepted. As the revenues of Bishops were by the survey of Henry the Eighth's commissioners rated to the utmost value for the first-fruits; and soon after, from causes well known, sunk below that sum, their Lordships ought certainly to have enjoyed the advantage of this clause; the temporalities however being invested in the crown during the vacancy (4), this Prince took effectual care to have them excluded. Now of twenty-eight principal cathedral and collegiate churches, thirteen only are rated; fourteen were never in charge; and Windsor was discharged by act of parliament. Under these circumstances, if we are guided by the declared intention of the legislature, more than half the clergy, who succeed to vacant benefices, ought not

(3) 5597 livings were discharged by the Stat. of Ann, as not exceeding the clear yearly value of £50; and by the Stat. of Eliz. rectories that did not exceed the yearly value of 10 marks, and vicarages that were not above £10 a year, according to the survey of Henry VIII. were exempted from payment of first-fruits.

(4) The noble author of the History of the Life of K. Hen. II. 8vo edit. vol. III. p. 243 & 248. has proved this to have been a justifiable branch of the royal prerogative upon the principles of the feudal law; but acknowledges, with the impartiality that distinguisheth his Lordship's writings and his character, that the keeping Bishopricks unsupplied, for the sake of the profits, was culpable. In this practice Q. Eliz. surpassed all her predecessors; for she suffered the See of Ely to continue vacant 18 years and a half. Her Majesty's disinterested and laudable motives may be seen in Strype's Annals, vol. II. p. 327, 360, 408, 579, 698.

not to assume the privilege given them by this Statute; and with respect to the rest, the case is so materially altered, they ought in equity to forego it. For, besides the advantage which they receive from the improvement of their livings, they are not under the same difficulties in the payment of their first-fruits with those, whom the Bill had particularly in view. They are allowed full two years to discharge the debt; and if they die before the expiration of that term, the bond given by them remains no longer in force. Whereas till the Statute of 1 Eliz. c. 4. the times of payment were uncertain and arbitrary. The Lord Chancellor, or other officer appointed by the crown, settled the articles of composition; and, I believe, in case of the death of the incumbent, his executors or sureties were answerable for all arrears. By the Act of 26 Henry VIII. c. 3. every person before actual possession was obliged to pay, or compound, upon good sureties, for the payment of first fruits at reasonable days; and if a minister meddled with the profits, before he had complied with these rules, he, as also his executors and administrators, forfeited double the value of the first-fruits. By the Stat. of 1 Eliz. c. 4. an incumbent is not chargeable with even a fourth part, till he has, or might have, received the profits of the half year from the day of the avoidance.

It will perhaps be said, that though in this instance the clergy are eased, yet there are other charges, which fall heavy upon new incumbents; such as fees for institution and induction. You will, I hope, do me the justice to believe, that I much wish to see my brethren released from every
incumbrance

incumbrance of this kind. But, if we accurately examine these fees, we shall find no great cause of complaint, since they have not been much augmented for near 200 years. The expences attending promotions to dignities, and other preferments in the gift of the King, may be excepted; because your correspondent has heard, (unfortunately for himself, he cannot write from experience) that the perquisites of the great offices have been raised, and with reason and justice, as the value of money has decreased (1). Fees, strictly ecclesiastical, are those I would be understood to mean. Concerning which the late Archbishop of Canterbury observed, in one of his charges to the clergy of Oxford (2), that they had not been materially increased since the foundation of that See, A. D. 1542. And as that Bishoprick was taken out of Lincoln diocese, it is very probable that the same rule is followed in that extensive jurisdiction. In this district of — the fee for induction in 1530 was 6s. 8d. and the Archdeacon receives at present no greater emolument. What the sum of all the perquisites paid to the predecessors of our Bishop and his officers were at that time, I am not quite certain (3); but am satisfied that the difference is small between that

B sum

(1) The author will venture to affirm, that no such extravagant presents are now expected, as the successful candidates for benefices in the patronage of the crown were constrained to make in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. When Bishop Fletcher was translated to the See of London he paid, for the most part, by her Majesty's direction, in allowances and gratifications to her attendants, £3100. Can we wonder that he should leave his family in distress, and humble petitioners to the Queen for relief. Dr Birch's Memoirs of Eliz. v. II. p. 113.

(2) Archbishop Secker's Charges, p. 116.

(3) In 1473, the Bishop's fee for institution in the diocese of — was Xs. it is now £1 1s od.

sum and what is now demanded, by comparing them with a table in the consistory court of Chester (1), settled in 1582. In that diocese the fees then arose to £4; and our clergy pay only £5 11s 6d, single stamps included.

The professed reason no longer remaining for which the clause of the Stat. of Henry VIII. was enacted, why should not the clergy be relieved from the partial and inequitable effects of it? Some may urge, that other motives no less weighty, which are not expressed, might determine the judgments of the members of the legislature in this point—that particularly, as the successor was, they knew, compellable to bear all burdens, and defray all expences, they might think it right to secure to him all the growing profits.

Was the income of benefices certain and uniform, the justice of this rule must be admitted; but, in the present state of them, a strict adherence to it will unavoidably oppress the families of the country clergy. I instance in these, because they are more affected by the Bill under examination, and are far more numerous than the dignitaries, added to our brethren, who are intrusted with the care of town parishes. Let us then, if you please, consider the nature of the revenues of persons in our station. They may, I think, be comprised under the denominations of tythes, pensions, Easter-offerings, what are usually termed surplice-fees, and glebe land.

It

(1) Chancellor Gastrell's Enquiry into the exercise of some parts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; 1707. p. 13.

It will not be denied that, in most parishes, the four last articles bear a very inconsiderable proportion to the first. And of the several species of tythes, corn, where the livings have escaped an impropriation (that baneful legacy of the popes and avaricious monks to the Church of England before their departure) and in vicarages, hay, fruit, and hops are the most valuable. In those few places, where there is a large quantity of woodland, and the wood is titheable, the difference will not be so great. But these profits accrue only in the latter end of June and the three following months: So that if an incumbent dies before this season of his temporal harvest, he has but a small compensation for his labours during the greater part of the year.

There are likewise some additional hardships. His tythes are subject to the land tax, to assessments for the relief of the poor, and the repair of highways; and, frequently to pensions to his diocesan, or a collegiate body, with procurations and synodals. The first of these articles has been, still is, and may possibly continue at three shillings in the pound; in most districts the second exceeds that proportion; and they must all be paid to the hour of the death of the incumbent; though, as the law now stands, the greatest part of the revenue for which he is charged, becomes from that time the property of another.

From a sense of the certain and heavy expences to which landed estates are liable, the parliament, a few years ago, shewed a particular regard to tenants for life. For the Statute of the 11th of the

the late King, c. 19. gives their executors a title to the proportion of the annual rent to the time of their decease. It is generally agreed that this indulgence was not designed to extend to the clergy. But, whatever was the intention of the legislature, there are some expressions in the bill, which they may plead in their favour. And this partial benefit makes it still more requisite that their case should be further considered: Since several reap the advantage, who, in one respect, are least deserving of it, and others, who most want it, are deprived of it.

This assertion is founded on an opinion of Dr Burn, who is seldom mistaken in a point of law. And if his comment on this Act is just, "Tythes, demised by written leases, are included in the words of it; and as modus's, in lieu of tythes, are not within the purview of this statute, a new incumbent is intitled to the whole of the modus, if his predecessor dies before the day of payment, even though the composition be for tythes, that, taken in kind, would have been due in his life time(1.)" We poor vicars are chiefly affected by this last circumstance, on many of whose livings, by the interested contrivances of those who endowed us, modus's are immovably fixed(2). And, as to the other article, the executor of an indolent lessor of his revenue has the advantage; while the representatives of a clergyman, who, by keeping his tythes in his own hands, is the best trustee of his preferment, suffer extremely

(1) Burn's Eccles. Law, under title Vacation, 8vo, vol. IV.

P 5.

(2) Kennet's Case of Impropriations, p. 59.

ly for the commendable care of their active friend. Some have imagined that no clergyman, as to his ecclesiastical profits, can claim any benefit from this Statute of GEO. II. since no clause of it revokes that of the 28th of HEN. VIII; but their opinion is surely erroneous; it being an incontrovertible rule of law, that a subsequent act of parliament virtually repeals a former act in every instance, where they are contrary to each other.

It may, however, be proper to consider the other articles of the income of a country minister; because a diminution of some of them, and an alteration in the value of the rest, since the reign of Henry VIII. will furnish us with a strong argument for a review of this Statute. There being, in general, a very small quantity of glebe-land annexed to our livings, I should have taken no notice of it, only I was willing to observe, that the law is more favorable in this instance, than in others, to the relations of clergymen; as it allows them to receive the fruits of the expences of the persons whose property they inherit (3) —Pensions, offerings, and surplice-fees are the remaining branches. The first consist of the same sums, as were fixed by the original foundation, or endowment, or an augmentation of ancient date; and the rectors and vicars of most places might receive them at the different quarters of the year. Oblations (4), formerly made at the three great festivals, and on the day of the dedication of each church, are reduced to one offering at Easter.

B 3

This

(3) 28 Henry VIII. c. 11. § 9.

(4) See the Glossary to Kennet's Par. Antiq. under the title Oblationes Altaris.

This may, in a few parishes, rise as high as 6d(1), but it is more frequently sunk as low as 2d. It was, and is due from every person of a proper age to partake of the holy communion; and as, heretofore, most people regularly performed this necessary part of christian worship, the payment of the offerings was seldom neglected. At present, it is not without some difficulty we can recover them from the Master and Mistress of a family.

The explanation of the words surplice-fees, viz. that they must be of so long time as to create a prescription, is sufficient to shew that they were not capable of much improvement. And, in fact, we find that in a course of two hundred years, they have had, if any, a very inconsiderable increase. The late reverend Mr Lewis has inserted in his History of Thanet the following table of fees payable to the vicar of St John's parish in that island, A. D. 1577 (2).

	s	d
For marriage and banes - - - - -	03	: 6
For burial in a sheet only - - - - -	00	: 6
With a coffin - - - - -	01	: 0
Yf the corps be brought into the church	02	: 0
For churching a woman, but must } compound for the face-cloth - - }	01	: 0
And the poorer sort only - - - - -	00	: 9
Easter offering per pole - - - - -	00	: 6

At

(1) Archbishop Whitgift complained that, in his time, the oblations were in many places brought down to 2d for a whole house. Appendix to his Life by Strype, N^o xxvi. p. 100.

(2) Page 145.

At this day, in some parishes, the fee for a wedding with publication of banns is 3s 6d, and no minister, I believe, receives more than six shillings. I am paid in my parish only two shillings for a burial, and for churching a woman and registering the child one shilling and sixpence.

I must likewise remind you that a parochial clergyman had, in the reign of Hen. VIII. many emoluments, which are now entirely lost. The wise and necessary suppression of obits, masses, and numberless superstitious ceremonies, and solemn farces of the Romish church, deprived them of many lucrative perquisites.—Besides; personal tythes, which were to be accounted for at Easter, are now no more.—Few incumbents, from the indolence and carelessness of their predecessors, can legally demand mortuaries(3).—And a practice, which prevailed much in former times, is out of fashion; viz. that of a parishioner's bequeathing a legacy to his pastor for dues neglected, or forgotten to be paid(4). I have been very circumstantial in my detail of these articles, to ascertain the truth

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(3) It is evident from the visitation acts of the diocese of ———, that mortuaries were claimed and allowed in many parishes, but there is not at present one clergyman in the whole district, who receives them.

(4) See Somner's *Antiquities of Canterbury*. p. 171. as also Lewis's *Antiquities of Faversham*, p. 62. Mortuaries were partly established for the better security of a satisfaction for the omission of tythes and dues. See Wilkins's *Concil.* v. I. p. 718. v. II. p. 66, 158. 279. The author was once told of a person who, from a consciousness of having defrauded the public by smuggling, left to the treasury an expiatory bequest; but he never heard or read, of one modern instance of a countryman's being so far touched with remorse for withholding his minister's dues, as to remember him in his will.

truth of the following remark, that, even on a supposition we should grant this bill not to have been extremely partial at the time of its commencement, yet, from a variety of causes, it may be now most injurious and oppressive. For as these several dues had a much greater proportion to the tythes than they have at present, and were received on different parts of the year, an incumbent, who died a little before harvest, was not equally aggrieved. They are now trivial sums, but we must consider the decrease in the value of money; and that they would at the time of which I am writing purchase many of the necessaries of life. The noble Lord, who now presides in the court of king's bench, admitted, in his learned and equitable decision of the cause of Sir John Trelawney against the late Bishop of Winchester, that a fee of two shillings in the first of Elizabeth would now amount to twenty shillings(1).

If you weigh with impartiality the reasons here offered for an amendment of the bill in question, you must be surprized to find that no relief has been given to those, who for many years have suffered by it. A faint attempt was made at the beginning of this century to effect an alteration, by securing a proportionable share of the annual profits of livings to the executors of incumbents according to the time of their possession: but the scheme was unfortunately dropped almost as soon as proposed: and the want of success was attributed to Dr Prideaux, his pamphlet being then first published in vindication of the present law. I have
already

(1) Burn's Eccles. Law, under title Leases, 8vo. v. II. p. 330. See also Bishop Fleetwood's Chronicon Preciosum.

already declared my sentiments of this tract, and am firmly persuaded that there must have been other more weighty, though secret, reasons, than what he has offered, which defeated the well meant endeavours of some true friends to the parochial clergy. For the arguments, which he frequently urges against the repeal of a clause so beneficial to the successor, hold much stronger for a discontinuance of it in favor of the family of the predecessor, "that the end of the endowment of a church is "for the support of God's worship in it; and "that the profits should accrue to him, on whom "the services and burden fall (2):" if these positions are just, every equitable man must grant, that the person who has performed the duty, and supported the incumbrances for ten, perhaps eleven months, has a prior right to him, who cannot be charged with them for the same number of weeks.

Dr Prideaux has laboured to prove that, by the canon law, the ecclesiastical year commenced on the 25th of March, and that the tythes and other dues were for the supply of the cure of the respective parishes to the same day in the following year (3). The decision of this point is not material, since the main question is, whether, by the laws in force, a man may not, for the service of one or two months, receive the most valuable profits of a preferment, and the minister, who has born the burden the rest of the year, have a slender recompence. I have shewn that this question must be answered in the affirmative: and will add, that one party or the other, must most probably be

(2) Dr Prideaux's Eccles. Tracts, p. 238, 240, &c,

(3) Id. p. 241, 243.

be a sufferer. If the predecessor dies before harvest, he loses, if immediately after, his family receives the fruits of it: and should the successor be removed in an earlier month, and the chances are greatly against him, he will officiate for that part of the year without his due reward. Whereas by appropriating to each according to the time of possession, each person is paid for his labor. The Dean of Norwich has indeed informed us, that the predecessor is not injured by this act, since he knew the condition of the tenure with which he was to hold his preferment; and that, as there was an advantageous and disadvantageous lot between him and his successor, whether he died before or after harvest, each in reason should be contented, happen which will(1). But why ought a hazard to be permitted in a case of so great consequence, on which the maintenance of many persons depends, when a fair and regular method of division may be with ease adopted?

Dr Prideaux further objected to an alteration of this Statute, because he was apprehensive it might occasion almost as many applications to the courts of Westminster-hall, as there would be avoidances; the consequences of which disputes, he thought, would be a notoriety upon record of the real value of preferments, that might subject the clergy to a payment for their first fruits according to their present improvements(2). The fear of many legal contests was groundless, whether the act was, or was not, amended; for the finances of families of deceased ministers will rarely enable them to defray

(1) Dr Prideaux's Eccles. Tracts, p. 239, 240.

(2) Id. p. 257.

fray the expences of suits at law. And surely, the alteration of this act would lessen, if not put an end to the differences, which too frequently arise between the successor and the representatives of the last incumbent. In parishes, where the tythes are taken in kind, and much less when each farmer is the tenant of his own tythes, is it practicable to determine how many sheaves of corn, or cocks of hay, were severed from the ground; or how many bushels of fruit or hops were gathered at the time of the vacancy? And if we consider the various articles of which the privy tythes consist, one may venture to pronounce that it is impossible to assign to the claimants their respective legal dues. But, when the neat profits of the year are cast into one sum, any person, who knows the first rules of arithmetic, will in a few minutes settle the proportions according to the time of the incumbency. You, Sir, have seen the advantage of this method of division in a small district, where the clergy have agreed to observe it; and I have heard that the clergy of the diocese of Exeter, convinced of the equity of it, endeavour to make it a general rule; and have no good opinion of any brother who proposes a deviation from it. The other difficulty then raised by Dr Prideaux must fall of course; and he, I believe, was sensible little attention ought to be paid to it: since in the conclusion of his tract, where he offered a scheme for the maintenance of clergymens widows, he advised to have it done by an equal rate on all ecclesiastical benefices; which could not be levied without a new valuation (3). In truth, it was, at that time, an objection more specious than solid, and is now frivolous:

(3) Dr Prideaux's Eccles. Tracts, p. 272.

volous : for, as livings were always subject to assessments of different kinds ; were often demised to neighbouring farmers, or consigned to creditors for the payment of debts ; and must have been in the hands of sequestrators upon every vacancy, the annual profits could not be concealed. At present the perpetuity of first-fruits and tenths is granted to the clergy ; and, by 1 Geo. Stat. 2. c. 10. § 1. Bishops are empowered and required from time to time to inform themselves of the improved value of every benefice with cure of souls, and to certify the same to the Governors of Q. Anne's bounty.

Since our first conversation I have, Sir, made it my business to discover the sentiments of many of the laity, as well as of our brethren, on this subject, and do assure you that all the former, and those of the latter, who were disinterested, judged the present law to be very severe. Those, indeed, who, influenced by a prospect of immediate advantage, were unwilling to hear of an amendment or relaxation of it, assigned a reason for their disinclination that will not be easily admitted. Their plea was, in former instances they had, to their detriment, been obliged to submit to this clause of the Statute, and they thought it very fair to reimburse their losses, when a favorable opportunity offered. What is this but to maintain, that because one man hath dealt rigorously by me, it is allowable for me to act in the same harsh manner by another ; in direct violation of that golden rule of equity, which requires us to do as *we would be*, and not as *we have been done by*.

Having

Having censured with some freedom the tract of a Gentleman, who was an ornament to our profession, I ought not, in justice to his memory, to conceal what seems principally to have occasioned his virulent opposition to an alteration of this Act of Henry VIII. viz. a dread of promoting and encouraging Simoniacal contracts. An endeavour to stop the progress of this epidemical disease was very laudable: though it is not clear to me, that there was more danger of a patron's obliging a clerk, whom he intended to prefer, previously to engage he would make an allowance to the family of his predecessor out of the fruits of the following harvest, under the scheme proposed, than while the act continued in its present form. I am rather inclined to believe that the reverse would most likely happen. For if a proportionate division of the profits was the rule observed, the representatives of the last incumbent would be less objects of compassion than they now are. From the warm expressions used by the learned Dean, it is most probable he had received frequent intimations of patrons insisting on bonds or promises for the purposes here mentioned (1): a practice, without dispute, unjustifiable: however, many persons will perhaps suggest, that a clergyman little merits a valuable piece of preferment, who should want an intimation, that he ought not to plead the benefit of a rigorous statute to the prejudice of a distressed widow and her children.

But, whatever grounds there might have been for Dr Prideaux's suspicions and fears, the cause of them is removed. The public papers by every post

(1) Dr Prideaux's Eccles. Tracts, p. 261—267.

post will satisfy us, that too many patrons in these days consult their own profit, and not the interest of the friends of deceased clergymen, in the execution of their trust. When livings are advertised to be sold upon an immediate resignation, or a prospect of the speedy death of sick or aged incumbents, can we doubt whether these preferment-brokers calculate exactly what quantity of tythe is likely to remain not severed from the ground at the time of the vacancy, and expect an adequate price for the chance? This abuse of the indulgence given by the act is of itself a sufficient reason for an alteration.

The rule formerly observed by some Bishops, and at different times by the legislative power, in fixing the revenue of town livings, will furnish another argument for the amendment proposed. I have before remarked that the clergy, who have the care of populous parishes, are less injured by this Statute of Henry VIII. than their brethren who reside in the country. My reasons were, that the surplice fees, which are continually arising, are of much greater value, when compared with the other branches of their income; and that the remaining profits frequently issue from an assessment on houses, payable at different times of the year. The following instances have come to my knowledge, and I doubt not of there being a very great number more. Mr Somner, in his Antiquities of Canterbury, takes notice, that the payments to the clergy of that city according to the rents of houses is quarterly (1). A friend, who was preferred in the neighbourhood of Rochester,

once

(1) Page 171.

once informed me that he believed the same rule was observed in that place (2). A pound rate, due at the four quarters of the year, is assessed upon the inhabitants of Coventry (3), Ipswich (4), and Northampton (5), by particular Acts of parliament. In some of, I believe in all, the new established parishes in and near the metropolis, where it was thought necessary to levy money on the tenants of houses for the support of the Rectors, it is to be paid quarterly. And we know that in the several parishes of the city of London, in which after the dreadful fire, A. D. 1666, the income of the ministers was settled by Stat. 22 & 23 of Ch. II. c. 15 (6), they are entitled to it by quarterly payments. The method pursued by these several Acts to secure to each clergyman who discharges the duty his just share of the profits, may encourage us to hope for success, should an application be made to the legislature for mitigating the severity of the Act of Henry VIII.

In the frequent use of the epithets partial and severe, I would not willingly transgress the bounds of

(2) This seems very probable as the Bishop of Rochester was formerly more dependent upon the See of Canterbury, than any other prelate. He was called *Ejus ecclesie proprius et domesticus*. Eadmeri Hist. p. 101.

(3) Stat. 4 Phil. & Mary.

(4) Stat. 13 of Eliz.

(5) In the parish of All Saints in Northampton by Act of parliament in 1677. Brydges's Hist. of Northampt. p. 442.

(6) In this Act no consideration is shewn to successors in London livings towards the payment of first-fruits, though they rise higher in proportion to the real value than in any other parochial benefices. The annual income of St Magnus, and St Margaret New Fish-street, is £170, and the charge for first-fruits amounts £100 : 17 : 1.

of respect due to a law in force. I am sensible that it becomes every member of a community to be wary in his decisions upon an Act of its legislative authority : but having shewn, I trust, satisfactorily the unreasonableness of the Bill in question, I persuade myself I shall not be censured for setting it in its true light.

The divine precepts alone are exempt from error. Human institutions ever did, and ever will, partake of the passions and prejudices of those who frame them, and of the customs of the age when they are ratified. It shall be acknowledged, and with gratitude, that the system of laws, to which our obedience is required, is mild and rational ; and in general well adapted to promote the happiness of individuals, as well as the public prosperity. Political enthusiasts alone will assert the perfection of them, and we have reason to rejoice that they are not, like the decrees of eastern tyrants, irrevocable. If we examine the numerous Acts of Parliament which swell our Statute books, we shall perhaps find few, that more require an alteration, than those which passed in the reign of Hen. VIII. the parliaments called by that King were either ignorant of the invaluable constitutional rights vested in them, or, on account of the unsettled state of public affairs at that time, waved the exertion of them. Thus far is certain ; they were not actuated by that spirit of freedom and independency, so gloriously and happily displayed on many occasions by their patriotic successors. Hen. considered them as mere instruments of his will ; and they were too apt to confirm him in the mean opinion he entertained of them, by a passive, unlimited

limited submission to his pleasure; without weighing the motives and consequences of what he demanded. You, Sir, who are conversant in this period of our history, will allow the truth of these remarks: and if a just representation is here given, a person merits some excuse, who treats with decent freedom Statutes, which passed while Henry the Eighth swayed the English sceptre: because he may be only complaining of the edicts of a capricious and arbitrary monarch.

From a Prince of his impetuous temper, and rapacious disposition, impartial and equitable laws were not to be expected; and, considering the prejudices he had imbibed in his early years, and which were strengthened by the superstitions of the age, we must not wonder, if we do not find them distinguished for their wisdom. Few, probably, of our countrymen suffered more unjustly from his severe decrees, than those of our profession. I except the monks and bigotted priests, who, as they were continually exciting seditious tumults in support of the supremacy of a foreign potentate, deserved their punishment: but what Lord Lyttleton(1) observes of King Stephen, holds equally true of Henry; "that he did enough to make the clergy his enemies, but not enough to make them his subjects:" for he would have certainly found a very numerous party of them zealously loyal in their attachment to him, had he not restrained them from marrying, and even made it a capital offence for them to enjoy a natural right of mankind(2). The authority of Archbishop
C Cranmer

(1) Hist. of Hen. II. 8vo. vol. I. p. 314.

(2) Stat. 31 Hen. VIII. c. 14.

Cranmer will justify me in attributing this cruel law to Henry VIII. solely: that excellent prelate having informed us "that it appeared to the parliament so contrary to truth and common judgment, that they were averse to the passing of it; and would not have consented, had they not been awed by the presence of the King, who, they saw, was peremptory it should be made an act of the legislature(1)."

It seems to be no forced conjecture from Henry's fixed aversion to the marriage of ecclesiastics, that by the statute, which gave all future profits to successors in benefices, he might intend to check, if he could not prevent, a practice which was common at that time. And indeed, an apprehension of poverty is a probable cure, though not a specific remedy, of the passion of love: for a prudent and thoughtful man will not be very forward to engage in a nuptial alliance, if he were sure of leaving the offspring of it destitute. I have already shewn that Henry's principal view in procuring this bill was to obtain a speedy payment of first fruits; and by the method adopted a new incumbent was eventually benefited: however I cannot but suspect, that he might likewise intend to cut off a resource for the maintenance of the wives and children of clergymen after the death of their friends(2). In support of this conjecture it may be observed, that when this Prince, whose tender

(1) See Strype's Life of that Prelate, Appen. No XL. p. 92.

(2) Sir Walter Raleigh says of Henry VIII.—"That if all the pictures of a merciless Prince were lost in the world, they might all again be painted to the life in the story of this King.—He heaped sorrows on the fatherless and widows." Preface to his History of the World.

tender mercies were cruel, was pleased to relax the *very sore and too much extreme* (3) rigor of what was properly termed the bloody act, he changed the punishment from death to a pecuniary mulct. The Penalty by the 32 Hen. VIII. c. 10. for the first offence to a married clerk was to be the loss of goods and chattels, and the profits of every ecclesiastical benefice, save one; and if he was afterwards convicted of living with his wife, he was to forfeit the issues of all his lands and promotions. By the former of these laws the wives of clergymen were to suffer the same punishment as their husbands; and by the latter on a single conviction they were to be imprisoned for life (4). But be my surmise chimerical or well founded, the consideration that the law was enacted, when the members of our order were under a restraint

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of

(3) Expressions used in the preamble to the Statute of 32 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

(4) In both these Statutes the penalties were more severe against married clerks and their wives, than against priests and their concubines. Thus ignorant was Henry, his council, and some of his divines, of the precepts of christianity, as to think fornication a little sin, and marriage a great one. John Skelton, an ecclesiastic, as also Poet Laureat to this Prince, honestly owned to a friend, who reproached him for keeping a mistress, that he in his conscience esteemed her to be his wife, though for the foregoing reason, he was afraid to declare it publicly. Atlas Geo. Mag. Brit. vol. III. p. 305. A Divine, however, of Sir Thomas More's acquaintance was of opinion, that it was less criminal to have ten whores abroad than one wife, (or, as they termed it, a concubine) in his house. *Theologus asseribat conclusionem famosam cujusdam limpidissimi Doctoris plus eum peccare qui unam domi concubinam, quam qui decem foras meretrices haberet; idque cum ob malum exemplum, tum ob occasionem sæpius peccandi cum ea quæ domi sit.* (Tho. Mori Apologia pro Erasmo.)

of celibacy is a good reason for an amendment of it; and that under such a change of circumstances this clause should remain in force, is another of the grievances of which we justly complain.

While the clergy were unmarried, their wants were comparatively small; and slender as the profits were which daily accrued from preferments, they might support the ordinary expences of a single man. But, upon being restored to the invaluable privilege of having a family, the maintenance of that family is unavoidably attended with such an increase of expence, as the whole year's income of most of the livings in England will not defray. How great therefore must be the embarrassment to receive not more than a tenth part for the service of ten months. We may likewise observe that it was, comparatively speaking, of little consequence to a bachelor, whether at the close of life, he was possessed of more than was necessary to pay his debts and funeral expences. But the views of a married man will, and ought, to extend further. He must be solicitous to leave a little matter for the support of those who are deserving objects of his affection; and if you deprive them of almost a year's income of a benefice, you must greatly distress them.

These were, probably, the reasons why Bishop Burnet, that exemplary prelate, and zealous promoter of the interests of the parochial clergy, earnestly pressed an amendment of this act (1). And the

(1) Biograph. Britan. under the article Prideaux, note Y.
The inferior clergy are under great obligations to Bishop Burnet,

the same compassionate and generous motives prompted Bishop Gibson to express a wish, that a clause had been added to a Bill passed in the 12th of Q. Anne, to ensure an equitable consideration for serving the cure of parishes to the wives and children of such incumbents, who died a little before harvest(2). The learned and judicious Dr Burn has not, to the best of my remembrance, transcribed this remark from the codex into his useful compilation of ecclesiastical law; and it is an omission for which I cannot account; because by a stricture on another clause of this statute of Henry VIII. he was certainly apprized of the force of it. The clause I mean, is what entitles a successor to the possession of the mansion house after a month's notice(3). Upon which the Doctor very justly observes, " that the limitation of time
 " might be well enough in those days, when the
 " clergy was not allowed to marry, but now for
 " the widows and children, which they frequently
 " leave behind them, this time seemeth to be too
 " short(4)." Now, in my humble opinion,
 c 3 that

as he was the original proposer of the plan for augmenting small livings, by an alienation from the crown of first-fruits and tenths. His Lordship had likewise formed a scheme to improve the income of ministers of town parishes within his diocese. by a temporary union of the prebends in his church of Salisbury. In this he was defeated by Bishop Stillingfleet, who attempted to shew that the bonds of resignation, under which they were to be holden, were Simoniacal and illegal, though he admitted the thing to be done was for a very good end. Stillingfleet Miscell. Disc. p. 37. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, v. II. p. 370.

(2) Gibson Codex Juris Eccles. p. 788, note S.

(3) Stat. 28 Hen. VIII. c. 2. §. 9.

(4) Burn's Eccles. Law, under title Benefice, 8vo. vol. I. p. 157.

that part of the act, which relates to the subsequent profits, requires an alteration more than this, which obliges the family to quit the house so speedily. For should the new incumbent, regardless of the difficulties to which he may subject the family of his predecessor, study his own convenience alone, the forms of law will permit them to keep possession for a sufficient term; whereas they can have no redress, if the successor is determined to seize to his use all the subsequent profits.

To the reasons therefore, which have been offered for an amendment of this Bill from principles of justice and equity, may be added a plea of charity to persons who much need it. And, considered in this view, one could scarcely have imagined that a gentleman of our profession should have zealously endeavoured to frustrate a scheme proposed for their relief. But Dr Prideaux did prevent it, and a declared motive of his opposition was, that he thought the successor more worthy of compassion, than the family of the old incumbent⁽¹⁾. There are not, I hope, many, who will subscribe to his sentiments; however, as he laid great stress upon this point, I will state in few words the different circumstances of the claimants.

Besides the sums to be paid for fees of institution and induction, &c. with the composition for first fruits, which have been fully examined; the Dean of Norwich urged in behalf of the successor, the great expences of his education already incurred, and what must ensue, on his beginning the world,
for

(1) Dr Prideaux's *Eccles. Tracts*, p. 226, 227.

for fitting up and furnishing his house and various other articles. But surely the family of the predecessor is so far from being exempted from as many burdens, that they fall heavier upon them, and at a time, when they are least able to bear them. We must remember that an habitation is appropriated for the use of the former, and if the charges of his settling on his new preferment rise high, the profits of it are likewise rising to him. As his income will be daily increasing, he has a prospect of reimbursing his expences, and of freeing himself from his incumbrances. But can a more melancholy scene be presented to us, than that of the widow and children of a clergyman, when first deprived of him, on whom their visible maintenance depended. They must precipitately leave their long accustomed home. The care and charge of, not only subsisting, but of instructing and training, very frequently, a young and numerous offspring devolves upon the disconsolate and destitute mother. And when qualified, they must be placed in a reputable way of acquiring a livelihood by their own industry. To enable the poor woman to execute this trust, she must embark in new engagements, which require no small sum of money. But how, and in what manner, is she to be furnished? what fund is there to answer these exigencies? It may be well, if the expected income of the year is not anticipated, and debts contracted without the least imputation of extravagance or want of oeconomy. The last stage of life is, to most people, attended with heavy charges; and if the poor man was long disabled by sickness, or the infirmities of age, from doing his duty, the

expences must be considerably augmented by an allowance to an assistant. For though the incumbent has no right to the profits of the living, he must pay a person to officiate for him. However, supposing his widow not to be left extremely necessitous, yet when the husband died, his income departed with him. The spring to her is almost exhausted; how cruel then must it be, at that trying season, to drain from her a few drops of what would have been a comfortable supply if the partner of her cares had been only spared a few weeks, perhaps days.

The time of the commencement of the act of uniformity was thought to be ill-judged and severe, since, from that circumstance, the sequestered ministers lost a great part of the profits of the year for which they had served the cures⁽¹⁾. And Archbishop Parker very justly reproached the commissioners under the bloody Queen Mary, for removing married clergymen from their preferments, not ten days before their half yearly payments became due, and after they had discharged their tenths and subsidies⁽²⁾. By this statute of Henry the Eighth there is a continual repetition of similar grievances. That law adds weight to the misfortunes of her, who, by the dispensation of providence, is pressed with one of the sorest calamities that can fall on her: whose distressed condition implores, and commands compassion and beneficence; and not a deprivation of

Solatia luctus

Exigua ingentis, misero sed debita patri.

Virg. Æn. Lib. XI.

(1) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. I. p. 184. 185.

(2) Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 310.

Our brethren of a neighbouring nation enjoy in this case an advantage which we have not. The stipends of the clergy of the church of Scotland are payable on Whit Sunday and at Michaelmas: and to guard against present distress, which a family must suffer, if the head of it dies before his allowance becomes due; they have a right, by a special law, to half a year's rent of the stipend, besides what the deceased was to receive for the time of his incumbency. This gratuity is called an *annat*, and is to be equally divided between the relict and her children; and if he have neither, it is to be applied to the maintenance of the nearest relations: it being presumed that ministers have not much to leave (3).

I am not ignorant that among the numerous charitable institutions, which reflect the greatest honor and lustre upon this nation, the families of the clergy have often experienced, and do still enjoy, a large portion of the liberal gifts of well disposed persons. But before we can with propriety solicit contributions for them, ought they not to receive what is in strict justice due to them; what their departed friend had earned by his labors, and what he had even purchased by the payment of taxes and assessments? If we withhold this from them, we cast them too soon upon the charitable list, and injuriously deprive others of the donation which they receive. Concerned am I to mention the necessity there seems to be at present for a speedy alteration: since, from different causes, the collection annually made in London to bind out the sons

(3) See a Pamphlet, intitled, *An Account of the Government of the Church of Scotland*, Lond. 4to. 1708, p. 5.

sons and daughters of poor clergymen apprentices, has gradually diminished (1). Should an amendment be adopted with respect to the future profits of livings, there will be secured to the representatives of many deceased incumbents, as large a sum as is requisite to place out one child.

It were indeed to be wished, either that the income of the parochial clergy might receive such an addition, as would enable them to make a competent provision for their families; or that a permanent fund was established and appropriated for the support of those, whom, from the scantiness of their revenues, they cannot avoid leaving in distressed circumstances. Many, and, I fear, insuperable, difficulties now prevent an effectual improvement of their livings. The bounty truly princely of Queen Anne, who, in giving to the poorer clergy the first-fruits and tenths of all ecclesiastical preferments, far exceeded the beneficence of all her royal predecessors, will not in two hundred years raise all the livings, already certified capable of an augmentation from it, to fifty pounds a year (2).

There

(1) The collection had not been so small for twenty-eight years, as it was at the last meeting. In 1740, the sums received on the rehearsal and feast days amounted to £784 1 6; in 1769, to £794 3 0. They have never within this period been under eight hundred, have frequently arisen to upwards of one thousand, and almost as often to more than eleven hundred pounds. By the death of the late Mr Sampson Gideon this laudable charity was deprived of a kind benefactor; he having for many years presented it with a bank note of £100. May those, whom God has blessed with affluence, follow the example of this generous Samaritan.

(2) Burn's Eccles. Law, under title First fruits, 8vo. v. II. p. 248.

There *was* a time, when the evil might have been redressed without affecting the property of an individual; and it will remain an indelible blot on the characters of those voracious courtiers, who missed the opportunity of restoring to ministers of parishes the tythes, which the monkish orders had insidiously or compulsively taken from them. But the other useful plan is feasible, and not liable to the same objections; would a few persons of judgment and consequence apply themselves, they might with little trouble carry it into execution. This is not an unwarrantable conjecture; it is founded upon experience. The late worthy and ingenious Mr Maclaurin contrived and adjusted a scheme of this nature for the widows and children of the Scottish clergy. His accurate calculations and unwearied pains had the desired success; for, in consequence of them, a wise and humane law was passed not long since to ensure annuities, or a sum of money, to the families of deceased clergymen in that country (3).

Archdeacon Kennet, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, in his Sermon before the Sons of the Clergy in the year 1702, has offered some considerations on this subject, which merit the attention of those, who have inclination, as well as ability, to promote so good a design. He was of opinion that some advantages might arise from an historical account of the first erecting the corporation for the relief of the widows and children of poor

(3) See Account of the Life and Writings of Mr Maclaurin, prefixed to his Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophical Discoveries, p. xix.

poor clergymen, of the several benefactions given to it, and of the manifold services done by it. Though my retired situation will not furnish me with sufficient materials for the completion of this scheme; yet, since a short relation of the difficulties the clergy, as married men, have undergone from the beginning of the reformation, till towards the end of the last century, with the probable causes of them, may be of use to others who have opportunities of making a further progress, I will beg leave to subjoin it: nor does it appear to be a postscript foreign to the main purport of this letter.

No one will, Sir, I trust, accuse me of a want of candor, if I decline inrolling Henry VIII. in the list of protestant reformers. For, except in one instance, that of the Supremacy, he was inviolably attached to the most extravagant opinions and doctrines, and, what was worse, possessed with the persecuting and sanguinary spirit of the church of Rome. We cannot therefore wonder, that this capricious Monarch should think a married priest was of *evil example* (1) to the rest of the world, and sentence him to heavy fines and confiscations, and to perpetual imprisonment. During the short reign of that promising young Prince, Edward the Sixth, this law was repealed; but, on the accession of his bigotted Sister Mary, many clergymen were deprived of their preferments, while a law was in force permitting them to marry (2): the merciless Statutes of her Father were soon renewed, and

(1) Preamble to the Act of the Six Articles.

(2) Strype's Eccles. Mem. vol. III. p. 110.

and involved thousands of men and women, with their offspring, in undeserved infamy and want. As her successor gloried in being the defender of the protestant religion; the ecclesiastics of this kingdom flattered themselves that they should once more be restored to the liberty of enjoying the natural pleasures and comforts of mankind. They were, however, lamentably disappointed. The celibacy of the clergy was one, and not the only one (3), of the errors of popery, which she would willingly have maintained. In the first parliament summoned by Elizabeth, when many of the Statutes enacted by her cruel Sister were reversed, the protestant divines zealously strove to revive the Act of Edward the Sixth; but no intreaties could prevail upon her to countenance so far the nuptial union of the clergy; she would only connive at it (4). The *strict* and *biting* (5) law, therefore, of Henry continued in force to the end of her reign: and by that means all the children of the married clergy were illegitimated. I am not clear, that there were not some prosecutions upon this Statute: be that as it may, she discovered frequent symptoms of an incurable aversion to the marriage of ecclesiastics. By her Majesty's express order an injunction was issued to oblige dignitaries to remove their wives from the houses allotted to their preferments: and had it not been for the spirit and address of her prime minister, he was of opinion that she had absolutely forbidden churchmen to marry.

(3) Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 96. Hume's Hist. of Queen Eliz. c. 3.

(4) Strype's Annals, vol. I. p. 81.

(5) Shakespear's Measure for Measure.

marry. At another time, her Majesty, in a conversation with Archbishop Parker, uttered such bitter reflections against the holy estate of matrimony in the clergy, that that Prelate heard them with horror; and some of her expressions raised in him the most alarming apprehensions lest she should openly declare herself in favor of popery (1).

In

(1) Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, pag. 107, 108, 109. From the avowed sentiments and conduct of Q. Elizabeth as to the marriage of ecclesiastics, may not a difficulty be solved for which Bishop Gibson could not account? viz. Why the bodies of Statutes, prepared by Archbishop Parker and others for the government of the Deans and Chapters erected by Henry the Eighth, though they acted by the authority of her Majesty, never received the royal assent. See Codex, vol. I. p. 205.—Dr Burn assigns, with a degree of doubtfulness, the following plausible, but general reasons;—either that the Queen was averse to the power by which she acted, or that she might be willing to keep the church in dependence on the crown. Eccles. Law, under title of Deans and Chapters, 8vo. v. II. p. 91. But may it not have been an especial motive for her refusal, that the commissioners had not obeyed her commands in excluding by a fixed ordinance, the wives of the members of the respective bodies from their precincts. As the Archbishop and several of the commissioners were married, we must conclude that they would not, if possible, frame an injunction to debar their brethren of the privilege which they enjoyed themselves; and they might easily avoid it, because the Statutes given by Henry were the ground-plot and model of the new institutions: And in the former, a particular order against the wives of the Deans and Prebendaries was improper and unnecessary; the marriage of Priests being prohibited by the laws of the land under very der very severe penalties. The refusal of the Queen, from whatever cause it proceeded, to confirm rules, which had been prepared with great industry and prudence, was of unspeakable detriment to these reverend and learned societies. See Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 342, 343, and Bishop Scambler of Peterborough's Letter to the Queen in the Append. N^o LXIV. See likewise Burn's Eccles. Law, vol. II. p. 82—103.

In thus debarring the clergy of a natural right, these princes seem to have borrowed from the Roman Pontifs a very refined plan of policy, which might have proved of fatal consequence to them. As they were obliged to carry on a formidable and perpetual war against the Bishops of Rome, in defence of their lives, and in vindication of the just rights of their crown; one should rather have expected they would have drawn off from their insolent enemy his main guard, by suffering and encouraging them to incorporate with their fellow subjects. The history of this and many other nations might have taught them, that the celibacy of ecclesiastics was the grand engine used in raising the Popes to the pinnacle of their supremacy. When that sagacious and most arrogant Pontif Gregory VII. formed his arduous plan for establishing a despotic power over all the kingdoms of the universe; his first stroke was to dissolve the jurisdiction princes claimed of right over the clergy, and by vows of celibacy to bring them to an absolute dependence on himself and his successors. Archbishop Anselm, one of the most strenuous champions of the papistical encroachments, that this country gave birth to, pursued the same artful and pernicious scheme. And the governing members of the council of Trent, though earnestly solicited by the most illustrious catholic Princes, and by some eminent ecclesiastics of their own communion, would not comply with their requests of granting the clergy a liberty to marry. The ingenious Father Paul has given the true reason: that when freed from the restraint of celibacy they would be less obsequious to their spiritual ruler, and

and more dependant upon their respective sovereigns⁽¹⁾. And most certainly an affection for a wife and children must endear a man's country to him. They are the surest pledges of his obedience to the laws of it. Is it not therefore amazing that Henry and Elizabeth did not promote the marriage of ecclesiastics to make them good subjects⁽²⁾? The principles of a false religion may have a little influenced them, but I must own I cannot acquit them of a political design. Intoxicated with the supremacy they had lately recovered, they studied more the extension of their own authority than the true interest of the public. They could not but have remarked how serviceable the detachment of the clergy from the other parts of the community had been to the ambitious views of the Roman Pontif; and as, in their opinion, the unlimited power usurped by him was added to the regal prerogatives they before possessed, they might flatter themselves, that by the same methods they should be able to keep the clergy in an abject submission to the crown, and ready to execute their despotic commands. When Queen Elizabeth perceived that Archbishop Parker and some of his brethren remonstrated, though with great decency, against her

(1) See a Discourse of the necessity of the English reformation in the *Preservative against popery*, vol. I. p. 16. in which the reverend author has referred to the following pages of Paoli Sarpi's *Hist* 514, 526, 647, 680.

(2) How different was the conduct of that wise and equitable Prince, Frederick King of Denmark, and how greatly did he contribute to the progress of the reformation in that kingdom, by procuring the famous Edict of the States at Odenfence, A. D. 1527. which permitted ecclesiastics of every rank and order to enter into the married state. Dr Mosheim's *Eccles. Hist.* by Dr Maclaine, 8vo. vol. III. p. 347. note T.

her unreasonable injunctions; she told his grace, with unbecoming wrath, she repented she had ever made married men Bishops, and wished to recall her appointments(3). It ought not to pass unnoticed that her immediate successors, two of whom were of, and the other two guided by the counsels of bigots to, the Romish religion, and who all made continual attempts to deprive their subjects of their just rights and privileges, countenanced clergymen who were disengaged from the ties of affection of a family. Whitgift was the beloved Archbishop of Elizabeth, Williams Bishop of Lincoln was Lord Chancellor under James the first, Laud and Juxon were the favourites of his unfortunate son; and indeed from the death of Archbishop Parker to the revolution, there was not one married man raised to the primacy. Bishop Burnet has observed that all the ecclesiastics in favor at court, in the reign of James II. were unmarried men, and that in particular Sancroft, who had a monastic strictness, was promoted to the See of Canterbury, because they concluded he was a man, that might be entirely gained to serve all their ends(4).

This partial preference shewn to clergymen, who were bachelors, was of no small disservice to the orphan families of our order. On the accession of the first prince of the Steuart race, the statutes of Henry and Mary, which enjoined the celibacy of priests, were indeed repealed; but there is not, I suspect, another general act of parliament that considers the clergy as married men, till the

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year

(3) Strype's Life of Parker, Appendix, p. vii.

(4) Bp Burnet's History of his own Times.

year 1689, though their case has ever been truly pitiable. In the first year of the reign of K. William and Q. Mary, a clause was inserted in the Land tax bill to discharge the estates of the corporation of the sons of the clergy from the payment of that duty(1): and the merit of obtaining this exemption may, in my opinion, be attributed to Dr Tillotson, who was favored with the confidence of those ever to be honored princes; and whose advice her majesty especially consulted and regarded in all matters that related to the church and the clergy (2). As from an affectionate concern for his wife and children, and an apprehension of their being reduced to extreme want, if he enjoyed for a short time only the exalted station for which the King designed him, his Grace thought it prudent and necessary to recommend her to the royal protection(3), so we may conclude, his benevolent heart excited him to provide for the distressed families of his brethren. The clause before mentioned was a specimen of the benefits they might have expected to have received under his ecclesiastical administration, had the valuable lives of the Queen and the Archbishop been preserved for a few years. Is there not likewise reason to believe that the families of clergymen were obliged to them for another mark of indulgence shewed to them in a bill for granting to his majesty certain rates

(1) The corporation do not enjoy the full benefit which was probably designed them by this clause, since by some subsequent Acts the exemption is limited to such estates only as they were possessed of before March 25, 1693.

(2) Dr Birch's Life of Archbishop Tillotson, p. 263, 312. Bishop Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. II. p. 117, 118. as also his Funeral Sermon on the Death of that Prelate, page 25, 26.

(3) Dr Birch's Life of Archbishop Tillotson, p. 227.

rates and duties upon marriages, &c. This Act passed in April 1694, and was probably planned before the decease of the Queen and his Grace of Canterbury. Dignitaries, by this Statute, were to pay the additional tax on marriages, and on the birth of children; and the inferior clergy were subject to the payment of no greater sum than the laity of the lower ranks.

You will, Sir, be apt to remind me, that we owe to K. Charles II. the charter of the corporation for the relief of widows, &c. of clergymen. It shall be readily confessed, and he is intitled to our hearty thanks for the many advantages that were the consequences of it. However, I hope, I shall not be censured as captious and ungrateful, because I cannot allow, that a Prince, who lived a concealed, and died a professed papist, could have a true regard for the children of ecclesiastics. I judge that he was moved to pass this grant, to silence the importunate complaints of the widows and descendents of many worthy men, who lost their preferments and their fortunes for their steady adherence to the cause of his Father and himself. The straitness of his finances, owing to his unbounded and profligate extravagance, would not permit him to recompence their losses in the manner they deserved: he was, therefore, prevailed upon to countenance and encourage those persons who appeared forward to contribute to their relief. The preamble to the charter assigns these reasons for his conduct. There is a striking difference in this respect between this Monarch and one of the best of Princes, George the First; who, in the beginning of his auspicious reign, enlarged

the powers of this charter, and at the same time, promoted the designs of it by his royal example (1).

It would, I am informed, fill some pages to enumerate our several benefactors. Among these Dr Thomas Turner, formerly president of C. C. C. Oxford, ought ever to be mentioned with peculiar honor; since, not unmindful of his relations and friends, he left to the corporation the residue of his estate, which amounted to upwards of £20000. But, ample as the donations have been, we must lament the deficiency of the fund, to answer the constant demands that are made upon it from every part of the kingdom. It appears from Dr Samuel Nicoll's sermon (2) at the anniversary meeting in the year 1746, that nine hundred widows, entirely destitute of all subsistence, had then applied for relief; that the number of petitioners had increased every year, and that the corporation were not in circumstances to assist half the number of those, who were recommended to them. And all surprize must vanish that the petitioners are so numerous, and such real objects of distress; when we reflect that, upon a survey made in the year 1707, the annual value of more than half the parishes in England was found not to exceed fifty pounds (3). Some persons will say, it has been frequently advanced, that the clergy should take upon

(1) By the original charter the corporation were enabled to hold lands to the value of £2000 ~~per~~ year, and K. George I. extended their capacity to £5000. His Majesty also gave the corporation £500.

(2) Page 26, note.

(3) 5595 livings certified under £50 a year, and of these, the annual value of 1071 does not exceed £10. Burn's Eccles. Law, under title First-fruits, 8vo. vol. II. p. 248.

upon themselves the burden of supporting the orphan families of the members of their own profession. And it may be affirmed with a strict regard to truth, that they have not failed to contribute, in proportion to their abilities, to the necessities of the widows and children of their poor brethren. Inattentive as the superior clergy seem to have been to the necessitous orphan families of the inferior members of their order for many years after the reformation; their successors, whether married or unmarried, have since the conclusion of the civil wars endeavoured to remove their wants. From a view of the depressed and indigent state, to which many relicts of orthodox and loyal ministers were reduced in that dreadful scene of confusion and rapine, Bishop Warner of Rochester amply endowed a college for the reception of twenty of them. And Bishops Morley and Ward made a similar provision for the widows of clergymen in their respective dioceses of Winchester and Salisbury. I could with pleasure, was I not cautious of offending those whom I must be always studious to oblige, point out likewise instances among the Prelates of this age, who have by the most generous actions shewed themselves to be friends to the widows, and fathers to the fatherless. In aid of the charter corporation, which dispenses its bounty to every corner of the island, private Societies have of late years been formed in several dioceses, for the relief of the families of deceased clergymen in their respective districts: and there is no reason to doubt but that the contributions would increase under the sanction of an Act of the legislature. Many schemes have been framed and attempts made to settle a fund, which will fully supply the defects of precarious
and

and capricious donations. They have however failed, because, I conclude, they were injudicious, ill-digested, or might be unseasonably offered. The amendment of the law, which has been examined in this Letter, will not, I own, be of the same extensive use; but it must be of essential service to the families of the clergy in the height of their distresses, and, as far as I can judge, is free from every material objection.

Before, Sir, I complied with the repeated solicitations of yourself and other friends to commit to writing these remarks; it was my assiduous endeavour to acquire as competent a knowledge, as my situation would afford, of the motives and views which gave rise to the Statute in question; and to trace the alterations that a course of years, and a variety of incidents, had occasioned since the period of its commencement. Conscious I am of the many defects in the manner of digesting the materials, and of a want of accuracy in my stile; but I can assert, that I have not wilfully misrepresented the facts, nor drawn any conclusion, which did not seem to be clearly deducible from them. It will be needless to recapitulate the several arguments which have been urged: however, I cannot forbear reminding you of two, which appear to have the greatest weight.

Permit me then, once more, to observe, that the Act passed in a reign, when thousands, who are now injured by it, were never intended to have an existence. The discouragement given to the marriage of ecclesiastics by five Princes in succession, from a view of keeping them in an absolute,

lute, and for the public, a dangerous dependence upon the crown for more than a century, prevented probably, during that time, an amendment of it. The causes, which have since obstructed an alteration, I am at a loss to determine. It is a peculiar felicity of the present age, that the clergy and the laity are so closely incorporated, that there is not the least danger of the former setting up an interest distinct from that of the people. This union may in part be attributed to intermarriages, and also to a plan of policy, adopted soon after the restoration, of taxing them in the same manner, and by the same authority. But, as they are subject to the same mode of taxation, ought one to be debarred of a benefit which the other enjoys? And yet, the heirs of all tenants for life, except clergymen, are intitled to a proportion of the rent of the estate according to the time for which it is charged.—*Equitas sequitur legem*, ought to be an invariable rule. In this instance, justice and equity, and the law, move in lines very different, and far distant. The worthy instruments, who shall rectify the deviation, must merit the sincere thanks of every country clergyman; they will, I am satisfied, receive them from yourself, from hundreds, as well as from,

Dear SIR,

Your faithful

and obliged servant,

24th JAN.
1770.

RUSTICUS.

